

THE CASE FOR LONG-TERM, SUPPORTIVE HOUSING

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SUMMARY

- Homelessness is defined as "the condition of low-income people who cannot find adequate, secure housing at a price they can afford". (I.1.)
- Homelessness is the result of social and economic forces. Single displaced persons (and marginalized families) increasingly are becoming homeless because of unemployment and the disappearance of affordable housing options. (I.2., III. 1.)
- The result of homelessness is increased transience and a deterioration in most aspects of the individual's life in ways that make it even more difficult to find and maintain housing. It is also complicated by serious personal problems and lack of access to necessary support services. (I.3)
- As a society, we cope with homelessness by blaming and labelling the victims of our inability to provide adequate incomes for all. (I.4.)
- The consequence for/response of many trapped in this reality is a growing loss of self-esteem and a sense of defeat that can lead to passivity or self-destructive behaviour. (I.5.)
- Rooming houses, the traditional housing for single displaced persons, have been renovated or "deconverted" so that their numbers have greatly decreased. (II. 1)
- Hostels become long-term residences in the absence of other alternatives. Instead of meeting needs for shelter and personal support in time of crisis, their design, policy, and practices often contribute to homelessness. (II. 2.)
- Because of the lack of affordable rooms and a shortage of hostel beds, some people have been forced to seek alternative shelter wherever it can be found - in abandoned buildings, parking garages, or health care facilities. (II. 4,5.)
- The private sector no longer finds it sufficiently profitable to develop additional housing for low-income people. (III. 1.)
- The public sector does not produce enough housing to meet the needs of homeless men and women (III. 2.)
- Social and charitable institutions must become purchasers, managers and developers of housing for single displaced persons because of the unprofitability previously described, because they are seen as capable of managing "hard to house" residents, and because they have access to public and charitable funds to subsidize rents and management. (III. 3.)
- The recent "crisis" in emergency housing appears to have generated more willingness on the part of governments or agencies to take the need more seriously. (III. 3.)
- Given these trends, it is an appropriate time for churches and social services to intervene on behalf of homeless people. (III. 4.)

- Low-income single men and women need long-term, affordable housing that provides a stable, supportive base for dealing with life's problems. (IV. 1)
- Such housing should be considered a right and not a privilege in our society. (IV. 1.)
- The supportiveness of this housing is maximized in small groupings of residents who control their own living situations with the aid of "facilitative" staff. (IV. 2.)
- Management of long-term, supportive housing requires more than property management; it must include facilitation of community decision-making and coordination with appropriate social services. (IV. 2.)
- Organizational forms are required that involve interactive decision-making with staff and residents, thus limiting size and bureaucracy. (IV. 2.)
- The physical design must be such that individuals can personalize private space and influence the use of corporate space. (IV. 2.)
- The successful provision of long-term, supportive housing by the voluntary sector requires the following, complementary changes. (IV. 3):
 - General Welfare Assistance must be increased so that housing benefits are closer to the need.
 - Social services must be coordinated and changed to give better support to the hopes and aspirations of single displaced persons.
 - More money must be made available to non-profit organizations for capital loans, through Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC)
 - More government subsidies must be made available to cover management costs for such housing.
 - Many different groups within society, including the non-profit sector, must come to understand homelessness and the housing needs of single displaced persons.

INTRODUCTION

"Poor Real Victims of the Housing Crunch"; "Homeless Search Desperately for Shelter"; "Indepth Reports Examine Seriousness of Housing Shortage". Headlines like these appeared in Toronto newspapers during the winter of 1982-83. One editorial called upon Toronto to "Shelter Metro's Homeless". Stories portrayed the agony of families who were in danger of losing their homes because of unemployment or high interest rates. Pictures of men and women on the streets or sleeping in parking garages dramatized the problem.

Finding and keeping housing in Metro Toronto has reached a critical point. This is especially so for marginalized single persons without family supports and with limited or no income. Given the increased presence of these homeless men and women in our cities, most governments and churches and many social services are proposing the establishment of emergency shelters and the expansion of existing hostels. This strategy, based on the assumption that the problem consists of a short-term lack of shelter, is like prescribing aspirin for cancer.

This report has been written by participants in the Single Displaced Persons' Project to offer a deeper and better-informed analysis of homelessness and to propose the provision of long-term, supportive housing as an alternative strategy to the provision of emergency shelter. As directors, board members and staff of social service agencies and as clergy of downtown churches, we have been working together since 1974 to respond to the poverty, marginalization and personal problems of the men and women of the inner city who are at the bottom of our social and economic systems. In this report, we use the deeper understanding gained through this experience to make the case for long-term, supportive housing. We describe the nature

of homelessness (Sec. I), the range of shelter options available to homeless people (Sec. II), and the economic factors behind the current increase in the homeless population (Sec. III). We conclude by proposing that the voluntary sector undertake to provide a specific type of housing which is suited to the particular needs of homeless people (Sec. IV).

I HOMELESSNESS

I.1. Homelessness is the condition of low-income people who cannot
Definition find adequate, secure housing at a price they can afford. The
most obvious element of homelessness is the lack of housing;
but just as "home" is more than physical shelter, "homelessness" includes a
lack of this base for the rest of life's activities. "Home" is associated
with personal identity, family, relationships, a role in the community,
privacy and security, and the possession of personal property. Homelessness
or the lack of a home affects all these areas of an individual's life. In
1982, the Metro Housing Task Force estimated that there were about 1800
individuals in Toronto without any form of housing; with the addition of
the approximately 2130 hostel beds for men, women, and families, we can
estimate that there are at least 3930 individuals without homes on any one
day in Toronto. Given that homelessness includes a cycle of having and
losing housing, the total number of homeless people in Toronto would be
much higher.

I.2. Homelessness is more than a situation experienced by individuals.
Economic The lack of appropriate, permanent, affordable housing is the
Roots result of a complex social and economic dynamic. Because of
high unemployment and low welfare payments, our economy does not provide every-
one with sufficient income to purchase or rent the housing they need. While
parcels of land remain undeveloped and older buildings are left vacant, the
high costs of capital, materials, and labour encourage developers to build
or renovate housing that is too expensive for poor people to rent. In addition,
there are social stigmas attached to poverty in our society which prejudice

lenders, landlords and developers. The homeless are at the bottom of the social, economic and housing system in Canada, with structural barriers frustrating their efforts to break out of that position.

I.3. As a result of having and losing housing over a period of
Material months or years, the homeless become "transient". They lose
Effects personal property that is hard to move and begin to limit
their belongings to what they can carry. Their social and familial relationships are strained or broken. They become increasingly dependent on the social service system for food, shelter, social space and personal relationships on a day-to-day basis. Because of their "transience", homeless people experience additional problems not faced by those with adequate housing. They have no effective legal protection of tenure. They are more vulnerable to rape and other forms of violence, to harrassment by police, shopkeepers, children, and the general public. They are exposed to special laws (against "vagrancy", loitering, and drinking outside) and prone to abrogation of due legal process. They experience blockages when they attempt to vote, set up a bank account, get credit, get a job, get general welfare assistance, get medical coverage, take care of health problems, keep clean, mate, and build friendships.

I.4. As a society, we tend to respond to homelessness by using a
Societal set of labels. We have a tendency to seek explanations of
Responses the problem, not in socio-economic (structural) terms, but
in discrete personal problems which can be "diagnosed" and "cured". The homeless are then considered ex-mental patients, handicapped, alcoholic, lazy, stupid, or even "socially retarded". When we cannot find adequate diagnoses, we tend to blame the victim for her/his situation ("He wouldn't

be that way if he just tried a little harder to find a job" or "She wouldn't be on the street if she had stayed with her family"). Blaming the victim fails to take into account the economic and social realities behind the homelessness of the individual (unemployment and violence in the family, for instance). Even when our explanations move beyond the individual's failures or diagnosed problems, we tend to minimize the gravity of the situation by dismissing it as temporary ("a bed for the night", "a cup of coffee"). Equally dangerous is our attempt to romanticize homelessness through images of the happy hobo without a care in the world. By focusing on the most visible and eccentric individuals we sustain the myth that the majority of homeless people are happy with their poverty, choose not to work, and seek to "bum" off the rest of society.

I.5. On the psychological and spiritual levels, homeless men and
Psychological women are oppressed by their situation and the inappropriate
and Spiritual responses of society at large. Their social, political and
Effects economic disenfranchisement is reflected in a personal powerlessness which
 leads to passivity, apathy and disintegration. As society labels them, they
 label themselves. As society blames the victim, they begin to blame them-
 selves for their poverty ("I got what I deserve"). As society romanticizes
 their situation, they too begin to minimize the desperation of their plight
 ("I like living this way"). As society holds up dreams of a bright economic
 future, they adopt a naive hopefulness ("My ship is coming in"). Among the
 poorest in our society, homelessness fosters a downward spiral of isolation,
 defeatism, and self-destructive behaviour.

I.6. Homelessness is the lack of a secure, affordable "home"
Summary base for the rest of life's activities. It is more than
the lack of shelter, for it involves a cycle of having and
losing housing. The product of a complex socio-economic dynamic, it is
the situation faced by the poorest in our society who are at the bottom of
the housing system. The "transience" and special problems caused by this
poverty have devastating material, psychological and spiritual effects.
As a society, we cope with homelessness by labelling and blaming those
who are the victims of our inability to provide adequate incomes for all.

II EXISTING OPTIONS

II.1. Traditionally, low-income single people have rented rooms in family
Rooming dwellings or rooming houses. There was a substantial increase
Houses in this kind of housing in the immediate post-war period and
up into the 1970s. In the last ten years, however, the private market
rooming house stock has declined sharply (see Appendix A). With the return
of the middle class to the inner city, rooming houses have been converted
into apartments priced to suit the income of single or childless professionals
or "deconverted" from rooms into single family houses catering to the needs
of this newly "downtown-oriented" middle class. At the same time that the
number of rooming houses has decreased, room rents have increased from
about \$30 per month in the late 1960s to about \$200 per month in the early
1980s (see Appendix A). These rents are beyond the means of an individual
dependent on welfare or UIC for income. Non-senior single people on General
Welfare Assistance (GWA) have only about \$38 per month with which to purchase
all other basic requirements such as food, transportation, and clothing if

they are renting in the private market. (see Appendix B).

II.2. The most visible shelter option for the homeless is hostels.

Hostels:

General While designed as emergency or short-term shelter, they have

Character-

istics become permanent residences. A recent study of male hostel

users (Kristolaitis, 1982) found that about two-thirds of them had been

using hostels for more than a year. Workers at Nellie's estimate that

roughly one-third of the single women they serve are using hostels as

permanent or semi-permanent residences. This permanence does not reflect

a choice on the part of homeless people. None of the male hostel users

surveyed by Kristolaitis (1982) wanted to remain in a hostel. Rather,

increasing use of hostels as permanent residences can be attributed to the

lack of affordable, long-term housing options and aspects of current hostel

operations which reinforce homelessness.

Individuals generally use hostels for the first time when they are in the midst of a personal crisis and need emergency shelter for a short time. Unfortunately, there are a number of institutional policies and practices associated with hostel accommodation which can exacerbate the crisis, contribute to transience, and trap individuals in a "crisis lifestyle" of habitual or permanent hostel use. For instance; individuals may be forced to move from a hostel before they can get their personal crisis under control and return to a stable lifestyle. Limits on the length of stay thus contribute to homelessness by creating repeated housing crises and make it more difficult for the individual to address personal problems. Furthermore, dormitory living can contribute to a deterioration of physical and mental health as one is exposed to disease and sleeps badly in a room of noisy

strangers. The lack of privacy and adequate storage space encourages a transient lifestyle, as people can only keep a few personal effects and there is the increased likelihood that anything of value will be gone in the morning. Most hostels are only open at night, leaving their residents on the streets during the day. This often leads to the "inappropriate" use of libraries, shopping malls or train stations, and increases the probability of confrontations with the police or security services. When an individual attempts to get out of the hostel rut, the lack of affordable housing and the persistence of personal problems increase the likelihood of his/her eventual return to hostel.

II.3. While limits to stay, dormitory accommodation, lack of privacy, Differences in Women's and Men's Hostels and daytime closings are common, there are several important differences between men's hostels and those for single women or women with children. Because of their distinct history, women's hostels are more likely to offer necessary support services and function as transitional residences from crisis to stability. Men's hostels were opened by religious institutions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in response to the need to house a growing migratory workforce during the off season and in periods of temporary unemployment. These were single, unattached men who moved from the farms to the cities in search of work in the newly-expanded industries of logging, mining, railroading and manufacturing. It was assumed that all who used the hostels would soon be working and, therefore, needed only minimal services for a short time. The dominant values of the time also held that unemployment was a reflection of laziness, personal failure, or moral defect (and not economic recession), so the provision of hostel services was seen as an act of charity. On the other

hand, women's hostels were developed in the late 1960s and 1970s as transitional residences, often for women and children leaving abusive situations. These women needed a caring, supportive and home-like atmosphere while they put their lives back in order and it was assumed that they were entitled to this service by right.

As a result of these very different historical roots, women's hostels tend to be smaller, with more staff per resident, less institutional, more comfortable and home-like, and more likely to provide connections to the social services needed by the individual in dealing with the personal problems that led her to use the hostel in the first place. Men's hostels tend to be larger (serving 50 to 800), institutional in nature with few staff per resident, provide a minimum of services, and lack the means to connect individuals with needed social services. These differences are perpetuated by the disparity of funding available to the two types of service (\$8.00 per day per man versus up to \$24.50 per day per woman). There are also evident differences in staff attitude and behaviour based on these differences. The larger number of men per staff (and the serious problems faced by the men) increases the physical vulnerability of the staff and leads them to be more control-oriented and punitive in their dealings with the men. With more staff per woman and a different set of values, the staff of women's hostels tend to be more supportive of the women's goals for changing their situation. Nonetheless, the lack of affordable, long-term housing options thwarts the efforts of transitional residences to assist individuals to overcome their personal crises and achieve stability.

II.4. Given the disappearance of affordable rooms, the shortage of
Other Crisis hostel beds, and the special problems associated with hostel
Alternatives shelter, alternatives are sought "outside the system". One
option that has been highly publicized through the press is the All-Night
Drop-In at All Saints' Church. However, the services offered by All Saints'
are as inadequate as hostels in addressing the problems and "crises" behind
the individual's homelessness. The press has also identified some of the
more unusual alternatives used for shelter: underground garages, stair-
wells, heating vents, cars and vans, doorways, underneath bridges, and train
or bus stations. These places are usually uncomfortable, unsafe, and inse-
cure. They are rarely relied on in the long term, but are used mostly as a
last resort and only for a few nights at a time. The same is true of those
staying up all night in donut shops or wandering the streets and sleeping
during the day in shopping malls, public libraries or train and bus stations.
A somewhat more secure and comfortable option is abandoned houses. One
couple we interviewed had been using a combination of abandoned houses, rooms
shared with friends, and separate women's and men's hostels for over a year.
This kind of movement through various forms of shelter is typical.

II.5. The public is generally less aware of the ways in which
Institutional detoxification centres, hospitals, jails, and residential
Alternatives programmes often function primarily as a form of housing for
individuals with nowhere else to go. This is well illustrated in the case
of ex-psychiatric patients. The Assessment and Referral Unit of Queen Street
Mental Health Centre does not refer patients to rooming houses because there
are so few and those that do exist are considered too expensive for those
on welfare or disability pensions. While boarding homes have been the most
common form of housing for those released from hospital on social assistance,

these too are becoming less available and more expensive. Between 1980 and 1981 an estimated 200 boarding home spaces in Toronto were lost -- a decrease of 20% in one year. Boarding home operators may, by law, charge an individual his/her entire month's income less \$30. As disability pensions are higher than welfare payments, many boarding home operators refuse to accept welfare recipients. Only nine of the 24 boarding homes recommended by Queen Street Mental Health Centre accept those on welfare. Given this situation, it is not surprising that many ex-patients return to hospital for shelter. Similarly, ex-offenders may commit minor crimes in the hope of spending time in jail. The lack of low-cost housing prompts people to return to institutions they are familiar with when all other options fail. Residential health care facilities and penal institutions thus become part of the range of options a homeless person passes through in the search for shelter.

II.6. The range of "inappropriate" shelter options used by the home-
Summary less is increasing as more secure, affordable alternatives
 disappear. Rooming houses, traditionally the most common form
of affordable housing for low-income singles, have become scarce. As the
demand for emergency shelter increases, the homeless turn to abandoned houses,
public places, and residential health care facilities. None of these, including
hostels, constitutes an adequate response to the individual's need for a "home".
Hostels reinforce and perpetuate homelessness through imposed limits on the
length of stay, dormitory accommodation, daytime closing, and the lack of
effective connections to other social services.

III THE ECONOMICS OF HOUSING

III.1. The disappearance of rooming houses highlights the economic
Private factors underlying homelessness and shows how the same
Sector processes that provide housing for some deny housing to the
Development poorest members of society. Indeed, the demands of our profit-based real
estate and development industries often seem to take precedence over people's
needs for housing and meaningful community life. Urban core development
has included a pattern of speculative investment. Because low-cost prop-
erties are held more for their potential value in future sale or develop-
ment than for current value in rents, they are allowed to deteriorate. As
those who can afford to move do so, many vital relationships in the community
are broken in quick succession. There is higher mobility in and out of the
neighbourhood. The social fabric thus broken (people no longer know who
their neighbours are and have nothing in common with them), the community
becomes more anonymous and more vulnerable to crime and violence. Finally,
when the development value of the property is sufficiently greater than its
current value, it is sold, renovated, or demolished for re-development.
Affordable housing is lost in the process, as the owners must rent or sell to
business or consumers with incomes sufficient to cover the costs of capital
and construction. In this way, private market development is driven by its
own financial requirements, not by people's needs for housing.

These broader dynamics have been accentuated in the current
recession. Middle-income families have been losing their homes as a result
of high unemployment and high interest rates. They have thus entered the
rental housing market. The high costs of land acquisition, capital, construc-
tion materials and labour have made it unprofitable for developers to build
even moderately-priced rental housing and encourage them to produce luxury

or condominium apartments in the downtown core. Thus higher rents, with static or decreased incomes, have caused inner-city renters to seek less expensive housing. Some have been forced to live in rooms, putting them in direct competition with those of lower income for the few rooms left in the city. While aware of these trends, the municipal government has been unable to maintain or increase the number of smaller rental units in Toronto. In 1982, the city's Interdepartmental Taskforce on Affordable Housing reported that

The size and nature of demand and the general economic environment influence production far more than the regulatory mechanisms at the City's disposal. At first glance, it might seem surprising that the supply of small units is perversely decreasing in the face of growing demand, but the market is really functioning as one would expect. In new construction, bigger units aimed at affluent purchasers seeking downtown locations simply make more money. (p.12)... Our analysis suggests there is a very good economic rationale, quite apart from the City's own policies, underlying the continued elimination of the City's smallest units and the reluctance to develop similar accommodation in existing housing. (p.15)..... a simple economic analysis concludes that it no longer pays to create small units and rooms in existing homes. (p.14-15).

Thus the private market no longer finds it sufficiently profitable, or potentially profitable, to be involved in housing low-income people. The dynamics of speculative investment that created "low-income" housing in anticipation of development have played themselves out as working poor neighbourhoods in the downtown core have been turned over to the middle class and professionals. In the absence of private market investment, the task of housing low-income people and the "hard to house" is falling to the public and voluntary sectors.

III.2.
Public
Sector
Housing

All three levels of government are already involved in financially-assisted housing. Through the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), the federal government provides low-cost capital for co-operative and non-profit housing projects. Because CMHC policy requires that rents in the projects it funds reflect the low-end of private market rents, these units remain unaffordable for people on General Welfare Assistance in Ontario. Furthermore, as provincial rent supplements are not available to low-income single people, this group is generally excluded from the benefits of CMHC funding.

Through the Ontario Housing Corporation (OHC), the provincial government provides apartments to families and senior or physically handicapped individuals. OHC policy thus excludes low-income single men and women. The same policy restrictions are applied by the Metro Toronto Housing Co. Ltd., which is the Housing Department of the Metropolitan Toronto government's Department of Social Services. The criteria applied by CityHome, the City of Toronto's non-profit housing corporation, are less exclusive. In addition to families, senior citizens, and physically handicapped individuals, CityHome will rent subsidized units to single people receiving medical welfare. Still, there exists no public sector housing for single persons dependent on Unemployment Insurance or General Welfare Assistance. Government policy with respect to low-income single people has focused on emergency shelters rather than on the kind of permanent housing that homeless men and women need. The priority given families, seniors, and the physically disabled reflects the general societal attitude to the needs of homeless single persons.

It should also be noted that the scale of public sector responses to housing needs is inadequate. CityHome has 4,169 units in operation, 35% of which receive rent supplements; there is now a waiting list of 4,540 for those 1,459 subsidized units. Metro Toronto Housing Co. Ltd. has 16,000 units in operation for families and seniors, with 4,300 seniors and 900 families on its waiting list. The local OHC body (Metro Toronto Housing Authority) has 29,009 units in operation, 10% of which are receiving rent supplements; MTHA's waiting list includes 6,406 families and 460 seniors. While CMHC allotted 693 non-profit units in 1982, there are 645 units planned for 1983, but not all of those units are certain to be developed. This failure by the public sector reveals the low priority given housing by Canadian society in relation to commercial development and other activities.

III.3. Historically, the voluntary sector's involvement in housing
The Role has for the most part been limited to the provision of problem-
of the focused residential programmes. Churches and other charitable
Voluntary organizations have managed halfway houses for ex-offenders and alcoholics,
Sector sheltered homes for mentally-retarded adults, and supportive residences for
 youth and battered women. The current situation, however, demands that
 churches and social services re-evaluate their role. Increases in the
 numbers of homeless men and women, the disappearance of affordable housing,
 the withdrawal of the private sector, and the inadequacy of public sector
 responses are creating the need for increased voluntary sector involvement
 in the provision and management of affordable, secure housing for low-
 income people. The experience of social agencies and churches in serving
 "hard to house" and homeless people fits them for this task. Furthermore,

the financial resources required could be made available. There are sources of capital open to the voluntary sector which are not open to private investors (eg. CMHC non-profit funding, grants from charitable foundations). The rising numbers of visibly homeless men and women could lead to the level of public concern and pressure required to free additional funds from the public purse. Ironically, the same processes in urban development that increased homelessness have generated an additional capital resource: the funds realized by downtown churches through the sale of their property or development rights could help to build permanent, affordable housing for homeless men and women.

III.4. Homelessness in our society is, at root, an economic problem.
Summary

The structure of our economy sets up a conflict between the needs of low-income people for housing and the profit requirements of private enterprise. Especially during the current recession, it is more profitable to build or rent housing for those with higher incomes, leaving the provision of affordable housing to public and voluntary sector developers. The public sector has failed to produce enough permanent housing to meet the needs of low-income people. Rather, governments have focused on emergency shelters for single, homeless men and women. The combination of public concern, available capital, the withdrawal of the private sector, and the inadequacies of public sector housing efforts demand that churches and social services take a new role -- the provision and management of long-term housing for homeless people.

IV LONG-TERM SUPPORTIVE HOUSING

IV.1. The description of urban development and crisis alternatives
A Shift in given above suggests that homelessness is also a reflection
Values and of societal values. We tend to view housing as a consumer
Priorities item to be purchased by those who can afford it or as an investment option

to maximize profit. In responding to the homeless, we have tended to offer short-term shelter at minimal cost. Without a shift in our values regarding housing, homelessness will persist as a social phenomenon and we can expect further increases in the numbers of homeless men and women in our cities. To counteract this trend, housing should be considered a basic right.

"Housing" should also be understood to mean more than simple shelter. Shelter provides for physical survival, but secure housing provides a stable base for living. With long-term, supportive housing, individuals are better able to cope with personal problems, to make appropriate use of support services, and to decrease or even eliminate their dependency on the social service system. This kind of housing is a fundamental human need and should be available to all, regardless of income.

It is clear that emergency shelters and transitional residences cannot provide such a stable base for living in the long-term. Even if hostels were reformed and improved, their work would be futile without the availability of a range of affordable, long-term housing options to move to after hostel. A shift in our values regarding housing demands a similar shift in the priorities of governments, churches, and social services. The public and voluntary sectors must move beyond "crisis" or "emergency" responses to provide long-term housing that can become "home".

IV.2. The experience upon which we base our current thinking is that
Long-Term of a number of groups and organizations that have established
Supportive and managed long term housing for single displaced men and
Housing: women in Toronto. Fred Victor Mission, St. Michael's Half-
General way Homes, the Christian Resource Centre, Nellie's, Woodgreen Community
Character- Centre, Houselink, Anglican Homes and Vincenpaul Homes have all developed
istics

long term housing options in a variety of ways over the last ten years. We have also followed the efforts of City Home to provide housing for singles by saving rooming houses, as well as two efforts that were discontinued, the Rooming House Tenants' Project and Home Base. We have received ongoing feedback from users of such housing projects through the work of the Coordinating Committee and the Anchor Person Project. We have also been in contact with people in Vancouver, Winnipeg, Montreal and St. John's who have worked with varieties of housing forms.

Our experience to date suggests that men or women who have come to be homeless are most likely to be able to improve their situation in ways they choose if they are able to live in a "Supportive Community". By supportive community we mean a long term residence that is small enough to encourage mutual support among the residents and has staff that are enablers of the residents' goals.

The experience of those working with homeless people in both hostels and long-term housing situations suggests six factors critical to the success of long-term, supportive housing. These relate to the individual residents, the community of residents, the staff, the managing organizations, the neighbourhood, and the physical design of the housing. They are offered as recommendations to voluntary sector agencies working to develop affordable, secure housing:

1. Individual Residents: The housing should maximize the individual resident's security of tenure, power to exercise control over his/her life and space, opportunity both to develop human relationships and choose the level of their involvements with others, and access to necessary support services.
2. Community of Residents: The housing should maximize the residents' ability to live together cooperatively and maximize their corporate power to shape

their living situation (choice of family structure, mutual protection, selection of neighbours, setting behavioural norms, resolving conflict). This is aided by small scale and avoidance of grouping residents by personal problem areas.

3. Staff: Staff should provide organizational/administrative and interpersonal supports to residents as much as is possible through the development of self-help and in a manner which empowers residents (rather than seeks to control their behaviour). The staff role should be essentially that of a facilitator to respond to the residents' interest and needs. This role would include advocacy, organizing, and linking with other agencies.
4. Managing Organizations: Organizational decision-making should be rooted in the needs and interests of the residents as they articulate them and based on an interactive process involving residents, staff, and other decision-makers. Organizations providing housing should also coordinate with each other.
5. Neighbourhood: The residents' immediate personal preferences should be stressed when locating housing (the housing should be located in communities familiar to the residents with easy access to the generic and social services they use). This will necessitate negotiations with the larger community to address negative societal reactions.
6. Physical Design: The living units should be small groupings of rooms with accompanying common and meeting spaces, basic in design but adaptable through furnishing and minor modifications to accommodate individual preferences, needs for security, and group activities.

These operating principles and goals are developed further in Appendix C.

IV.3. Further Recommendations A number of complementary changes are required to enable the provision of long-term, supportive housing by the voluntary sector.

Incomes: Incomes sufficient to enable people to find affordable, secure housing must be provided through employment, social assistance, or a combination of these. Specifically, General Welfare Assistance must be increased to reflect better the actual cost of housing.

Social Services: Social services must change to become more responsive to the needs of the homeless. Specifically, support services must be coordinated in order to deal effectively with the multiplicity of personal problems faced by homeless individuals and existing hostels must move in the direction of transitional residences to avoid the entrapment of individuals in "crisis lifestyles".

Public Funding: More public funds must be made available (through CMHC and other sources) for capital loans to voluntary sector agencies seeking to develop housing. Government subsidies must also be made available to cover the management costs of social housing projects.

Public Education: A better understanding of the nature of homelessness and housing needs by many groups in society (including the voluntary sector) is required. Through greater public awareness will come political pressure to provide long-term housing instead of emergency shelter and increased in funding to help sustain the efforts of non-governmental organizations.

IV.4.
Summary

The provision of adequate, secure, affordable housing demands a shift in values and priorities. Rather than seeing housing as "shelter" and a commodity, it must come to be understood as the base for living (a home) and a basic right. Hostels and transitional residences cannot fulfill this function. Our experience suggests several operating principles for the kind of long-term, supportive housing needed by homeless men and women. These principles relate to the individual residents, the community of residents, the staff, the managing organizations, the neighbourhood, and the physical design of the housing. A number of complimentary changes in public funding, income maintenance programmes, social services, and public education are required to support the provision of such housing by the voluntary sector.

APPENDIX A: DISAPPEARANCE OF ROOMING HOUSES AND INCREASES IN ROOM RENTS

One data source for the growth and decline of rooming houses is Might's City Directory. The Directory lists rooming houses by address. Table 1 is based on data from the Directories and shows the rapid decline in rooming house availability in the downtown east area bounded by Church, Carlton, River and Queen Street East.

TABLE 1

Rooming Houses in Downtown East - 1949-1981

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Rooming Houses</u>
1940	25
1950	50
1960	132
1970	267
1981	126

(Source: Might's Directories 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1981-82).

Table 2 gives some indication of the rapid rise in room rents. These figures were taken from room rental advertisements in two Toronto newspapers for the same three day period in March 1977 - 1981.

TABLE 2

Average Room Rental Costs

<u>Year</u>	<u>Average Monthly Rent</u>	<u>Number of Rooms</u>
1977	\$115.00	642
1978	123.00	491
1979	144.00	406
1980	163.00	397
1981	186.00	225

(Source: City of Toronto Interdepartmental Task Force on Affordable Housing Report. Sept. 1982).

APPENDIX BONE ADULT
RATES UNDER SOCIAL ASSISTANCE BY PROVINCE

<u>PROVINCE</u>	<u>Basic Allowance</u>	<u>Shelter Cost</u>	<u>Supplementary Benefits Related to Housing</u>	<u>Total Monthly Assistance</u>
Newfoundland	\$261.00 (includes utilities)	\$ 70.00	\$.26 fuel allowance (Labrador Residents) . up to \$50 aggregated for water and sewage; arrears in light and power bills.	\$407.00
Prince Edward Island	\$116.00	\$170.00 (includes utilities) (actual rent and utilities usually paid)	. arrears in shelter and utilities . property repairs . telephone allowance	\$286.00 (+)
Nova Scotia	\$136.00	\$308.00 (includes utilities, taxes, water, house- hold supplies)	. special furnishings . special maintenance . moving expenses	\$444.00
New Brunswick	\$212.25	\$ 70.75 (includes utilities)		\$283.00
Quebec	\$357.00	\$ 65.00	. cost of installation or repairs to heating system . moving expenses	\$422.00
Ontario (GWA)	\$163.00	\$ 75.00 (heat included) (utility deposits) (arrears in utilities)	. excess shelter . fuel subsidy . moving expenses . property repairs	\$238.00
Ontario (FBA)	\$203.00	\$ 75.00	. excess shelter . fuel subsidy . moving expenses . property repairs . utility deposits and arrears	\$278.00

<u>Province</u>	<u>Basic Allowance</u>	<u>Shelter Cost</u>	<u>Supplementary Benefits Related to Housing</u>	<u>Total Monthly Assistance</u>
Manitoba	\$163.80	\$170.00 (includes utilities) (security deposits)	. minor and major repairs . tax arrears . home insulation . moving expenses . telephone	\$333.80
Saskatchewan	\$240.00	\$ 50.00 (or actual shelter costs) (telephone allow- ance)	. back bills . tenancy deposit . repairs . household equipment . household moving	\$290.00 (+)
Alberta	\$168.00	\$315.00 (includes fuel and utilities)	. rental damage deposit . emergency accommodation . utility arrears . damages to rental accommodation . home repairs . fire insurance	\$483.00
British Columbia	\$205.00	\$170.00 (includes utilities)	. rent and security deposits	\$375.00
Northwest Territories	\$137.00	\$105.00 (includes utilities; these are assumed shelter rates - actual is paid according to amount designated by local director)	. damage deposits . repairs . laundry services . household moving	\$242.00 (+)
Yukon	\$184.00	\$118.00 (includes utilities)	. back bills . property repairs . household equipment . telephone allowance . household moving . laundry service	\$302.00

APPENDIX C: OPERATING PRINCIPLES FOR LONG TERM, SUPPORTIVE HOUSING

We recognize that the same type of housing does not suit all individuals or groups of homeless people. However, these principles reflect characteristics common to housing and management which we know to be suitable for most groups and to be partially realized in others. These operating principles can also be used to evaluate the existing housing and to suggest some new models.

Individual Residents

Most individuals with whom we are in contact want housing that can be their long term home. By "long term" they mean "as long as they want to stay". Therefore, our goal is for the residents to stay as long as they choose to or as long as they fulfill their part of the agreement entered into with regard to the housing. In this way they can know their tenure is secure. Our experience is that a verbal agreement between the three parties involved, the individual, the others in the residence and the landlord, is usually an important way to protect the individual and the group, if properly negotiated.

Most individuals also want enough control over their individual and corporate space to be able to make it their own and ensure their desired degree of privacy. This means being able to modify their own room to fit their personal taste. It also means being able to entertain family and friends.

Most individuals also prefer to manage their own income and a mutual agreement as described above usually leads to the rent being paid. They also prefer to determine, within the agreement for the housing, their relationships with other residents and staff such as frequency of house meetings and staff visits.

In order to keep house and home, most residents want information about and access to services that enable them to exercise their rights and responsibilities as residents, to maintain their income and health, and to pursue other aspects of their lives.

Community of Residents

Many people who have been homeless have lost the personal support networks that are necessary to get beyond the problems they face. Our experience suggests that a group of peers can become a supportive network for individual men and women. Therefore, our goals for the housing are that they maximize the possibility of cooperative living, recognizing that the degree of cooperation will vary greatly depending on the members of a particular unit. It will also vary over time with the same group. But our experience suggests that it be encouraged. It also suggests that groups of five or less are preferred by residents for developing cooperative relationships. But individuals also want easy access to others outside their living group. We also have seen houses with as many as eighteen older residents develop a home-like environment. When residents live cooperatively they usually share responsibility for their common living situation, including maintenance of common space. Since this is their home, group decision as to who can join with them is also an important goal. In fact, approaching the housing with the assumption that it is the residents' responsibility to administer their own home, and then proceeding to develop their ability to do so, stabilizes the housing situation for the residents and helps it to be home.

We also feel that it is desirable to group most people in long-term housing by some way other than problem labels such as alcoholic. Fred Victor Mission's two houses to date have had good experiences with this approach.

However, much of the funding for similar housing has required that the residents be labelled.

Our goal is also for residents to establish links with others in the larger community who share their interests and concerns. Although there is little Toronto experience of this among single displaced persons, other cities' experience suggests some positive benefits for the residents and the community.

Staff

Our experience suggests clearly that residences for single displaced persons do not function well or lead to security of tenure without some sort of staff involvement beyond rent collection. The best of the private rooming houses had managers who did much more than collect rents. They showed real interest in their residents, provided other services such as coffee or T.V. viewing and intervened to help settle conflicts. This extended view of house management is our goal here rather than either problem focused programming or traditional property management. We see the staff role as essentially that of facilitator and resource person, working with the residents as individuals or groups to help them make the key decisions that affect their life together, assisting the links outside the house that help to sustain their "homefulness". The serious personal problems many single displaced persons face often surface in discussions of housing and its management. We do not see staff in long term housing making problem "treatment" interventions. But we do see an essential role for such staff in building linkages to community resources that the resident can pursue. We have seen that this type of coordination of supports outside the housing enables residents to stay longer, and to use the secure home as a base for developing other aspects of their lives such as job or community involvement.

Managing Organizations

In order to achieve the preceding goals, the managing organization will need to develop policies and practices that support this approach. Our experience suggests that this is as difficult as or more difficult than the other tasks. The management of the housing must be transparent enough to the residents so that they can exercise their rights and competent enough so that they can put much of their energy into activities outside of the housing. The developing of joint decision making with the tenants is not carried out by most organizations. Those who have made some progress on this have remained relatively small. Thus we feel that numbers of small scale sponsoring organizations are preferable to one large organization. However, linkages and coordination between the organizations is essential.

Neighbourhood

Single displaced people, like others, want to live in the area with which they are familiar because their friends are close, as are the social and other services they use. They also prefer to be close to reasonably priced commercial centres with entertainment, restaurants, laundromats, clothing stores or thrift shops. Accessible public transit is also a must.

Since there is a negative societal image of single displaced people, care must be taken in choice of neighbourhoods. Problem oriented housing projects should not be too close to each other to avoid creating a ghetto, although a degree of specialization is necessary for problem focused housing such as physically handicapped. Having a variety of agency sponsors in projects will help avoid obvious labelling. Time should go into public education with neighbours. It may be advisable to locate housing in neighbourhoods with Coops or Non-profit Housing where neighbours are more sympathetic.

Physical Design

The physical design for housing single displaced people has not much different criteria from housing for singles of any economic status. As Kristalaitis (1982) shows, single displaced people want private rooms and apartments. The design has to be basic, because it has to be affordable on general welfare assistance; however, the buildings should meet all building code standards. There is a preference for small scale, with four or five need a common space, and access to meeting space. The rooms have to be large enough to be seen as permanent accommodation. Since individuals' needs for space differ, there should be a variety to provide choice.

The spaces need to be flexible enough for some customization and decoration by the residents. Residents develop a real sense of ownership of a space they have painted the colour they like. Some units should be flexible or designed so two residents can pair up and combine their living spaces so both benefit.